11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

000

SOUTHWESTERN JOURNAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Published by the University of New Mexico and the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe in the interest of general Anthropology

VOLUME 2
1946

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO PRESS
ALBUQUERQUE

[Title page]

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

KINSHIP AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE ISLAND CARIB

DOUGLAS TAYLOR

PAST AND PRESENT

[12] THE RESPECTIVE ROLES of Carib and Arawak tribes in shaping the social organization and general culture of the northeast tropical forest area of South America appear to constitute a moot point which is far from settled. Any evidences of acculturation from the islands where these two stocks are known to have met and mingled should therefore be of interest. While I have [127] been obliged to rely in the main, for the purposes of the present paper, upon historical material, comparisons have been made wherever this was possible with conditions obtaining today among the Carib remnant in Dominica. Moreover, it is hoped that the tentative interpretation of the kinship terms and of their social implications will not be without value.

[10] The Island Caribs, says Breton,[1] called themselves Callinago, and were called by their womenfolk Callíponam. Further, he gives this very interesting note:

> *Galibi*, Caraïbes de terre ferme. J'ay enfin appris des Capitaines de la Dominique, que les noms de Galibi, et Caraïbe estoient des noms que les Européens leur avoient donnez, et que leur véritable nom estoit *Callinago*, qu'ils ne se distinguoient que par ces mots *Oubaóbouam, Baloüéboüam*, c'est à dire, des Isles, ou de terre ferme, que les insulaires estoient des Galibis de terre ferme, qui s'estoient détachez du continent pour conquester les Isles, que le Capitaine qui les avoit conduits estoit petit de corps, mais grand en courage, qu'il mangeoit peu, et beuvoit encore moins, qu'il avait exterminé tous les naturels du païs, à la reserve des femmes, qui ont toujours gardé quelque chose de leur langue, que pour conserver la memoire de ces conquestes il avoit fait porter les testes des ennemis (que les François ont trouvez) dans les antres des rochers qui sont sur le bord de la mer, afin que les peres les fissent voir à leurs enfans et successivement à tous les autres qui descendroient de leur posterité. Ils m'ont dit qu'ils avoient eu des Rois, que le mot *aboüyou* estoit le nom de ceux qui les portoient sur leurs épaules, et que les Caraïbes qui avoient leur étabet au pied de la soufrière de la Dominique, au delá d'Amichon estoient descendus d'eux, mais je ne leur demanday pas si leurs Rois avoient commencez dès ce Capitaine qui avoit conquis les Isles, et quèd ils ont cessez de regner.

Today the older Caribs say that their tribe's name is kìrìrúnâ (r representing a bilabial voiceless spirant), and have quite forgotten the other term; but

1 (R. P.) Raymond Breton, *Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François* (Auxerre, 1665); *Dictionnaire François-Caraïbe* (1666); *Grammaire Caraïbe* (1667).

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946

ST13 Callinago ST13

fifty years ago—two and a half centuries after Breton's stay in the island—Rat found both terms still in use: "A modern Carib is called by his countrymen, *Karífuna*. In referring to the whole race of Caribs, the word *Karínaku* is used," he says; and rather naively comments: "Raymond Breton does not mention Karífuna"! [D]

There appear to be four names, with their variations, applied to the Caribs—the first by themselves, the other three being examples of how they were "called names" by their neighbors and enemies:

1. Callínago, calínago, kalína, karínaku, karína (see kinship term 5) *harmless* > stem kari- *hurt, harm,* and suffix, -na *(free)from* (cf. Breton's "callimémeti *homme paisible, homme de bien*").

2. Callíponam, caripuna, karipúna, caripoune, carifoona, karífuna, kàrirúna (see kinship term 6) *people disposed to hurt* (cf. Breton's karibúteti *sensitive, touchy* > Rat's kaifúteti *fearsome*).

3 Galíbi, canibi, caríbe, caríve, caribbe, charibbee, carib, charib, cariva, caribisce, callibíshi, caribisi, carabish. These names, although usually taken to be European corruptions of 2, may well derive from the stem kari- (see above) and, as suffix -ibe *tribe, kin* (see term 8, and cf. kibeti *many*) and connote *harmful* or *hurtful nation.*

4. Similarly [kawáibe?] > kawahíb, k'wáib (the present local Creole term) > Kráibo (place name) and French caraïbe; probably meant *quarrelsome people, tribe,* or *nation* (cf. kawáiti *quarrelsome*).

Breton tells us that there were two main chiefs, one for the leeward, another for the windward side of Dominica, with minor chiefs or headmen in charge of the several settlements or carbets (< tábuy *longhouse*). Breton says he was laughed at when he greeted one of these with the word for chief; and from other sources it does not appear that they exercised any great authority. In wartime, a special commander was appointed to lead the combined forces of several islands; and each boat had its own captain. The forces of Dominica were said to take the lead in such campaigns. War-time leaders could exact obedience, but had to relinquish their positions at the termination of an expedition. We are told that chiefs and their sons did not follow the usual custom of matrilocal residence after marriage, but brought their wives to their own homes. The tradition of one-time royalty probably refers to an hereditary chieftainship; but it is evident that at the time of which the chroniclers wrote chiefs were elected and might even be deposed. Candidates for chieftainship were selected on the

622 [624] [701] 624 622 [591]

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

622 basis of their supposed wisdom and powers of endurance, and had to submit to such tests as fasting, drinking tobacco juice (a powerful emetic), stinging by wasps or ants, and scarification with agouti-tooth lancets.

Today the tribe as a whole elects a chief for his real or self-advertised ability to safeguard its interests and improve its lot. Unless deposed for gross injustice, he holds office for life; but no particular privileges attach to the position. Having no means of enforcing sanctions, his rule is limited to that of a paternal arbiter.[2]

[701] All records insist on the democratic character of Island Carib society. Only those who so desired joined a war party. A father would not dream of telling [593] a sixteen year old son to come fishing, but merely announce his own intention of going. "Orders are given to none but women and slaves," says Labat; and adds [562 567] that as far as he saw, both these classes were treated gently, and that many Caribs had real affection for their wives. The statement that they were also very jealous, and might kill a woman suspected of infidelity without proof or further ado 684 rather loses significance when we learn that, in their cups, Caribs frequently [578] cracked the heads of men whom they considered to have injured them, and that in such cases, only the family of the victim, if they held the deed as unjustifiable, would take up the vendetta. Moreover, should a deceived husband not kill his wife immediately after discovering her guilt, not only must he not hark back to the subject later, but he was supposed to tolerate subsequent lapses provided they be with the same man (see term 20)! This latter, however, if challenged by the aggrieved husband, must bow his head and submit to being slashed with a knife, but was at liberty to return the challenge under the same conditions later. [855] Children were disciplined little, and then, more out of sporadic ill-humor than in their own interest.

593 Although it has faded somewhat in the course of the last three hundred years, the above picture is still recognizable in its outline. The father has final authority in the household, although he usually leaves the management of children

---

648 622 623 [666] 2 As a consequence of the so-called "Carib War" of September 1930 (see Douglas Taylor, *The Caribs of Dominica*, Anthropological Papers, no. 3, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 119, pp. 103-159, 1938), the late chief Jolly John was "cashiered" by the local British authorities. A plebiscite by show of hands, held in the presence of the magistrate, resulted in his re-election by the Caribs, who continued to regard him as Chief until his death in 1942. Nevertheless, at the instigation of the local authorities, a council of five was appointed to replace the "office of chief," which was discontinued. Divided amongst themselves, its members have attempted little and accomplished less. The number of disputes settled by them without recourse to the magistrate is but a fraction of those successfully arbitrated formerly by the chief. Thus far, their only united effort has been directed toward urging the local authorities (who give them each a yearly "Christmas box" of $3) to raise their "pay"!

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

to his wife. He would be expected to beat a lazy or unfaithful wife; though when he comes home helplessly drunk, the roles are sometimes reversed. He may also chastize or even expel from the household older children who repeatedly misbehave themselves. Up to the age of about five, children are treated with extreme indulgence interspersed with sporadic displays of affection, temper, or indifference; and rarely learn to control their bodily functions until three or four. Later training is almost solely confined to ridicule or chastisement; and Carib parents rarely if ever question their adolescent children, or seek to direct or control their doings. Observation, not interrogation, is the rule; and even in adults, silence is the only answer to an unwelcome question. A young girl found to be pregnant might receive a beating from her mother, especially should she not have revealed her lover's identity; but pre-marital sex experience is, on the whole, taken for granted by the present generation of Caribs. Adultery on the part of a husband is not uncommon, and is regarded with indulgence provided that the wife and children do not suffer neglect thereby. Adultery committed by the wife is rarer, and much more severely judged, though it is unlikely to lead to a permanent separation. The guilty wife may be beaten, and some sort of reparation demanded from her accomplice, who acquires a sort of right as the husband's combosse (see term 20), however, to future privileges. The above remarks apply to any socially recognized, fairly permanent unions, legal or otherwise. The recent suicide of a man who had discovered his (extra-legal) wife's infidelity is said by his friends to have been due to shame at the girl's refusal to return and submit to being beaten.

That wives might be acquired in different ways, we learn from all sources. A woman's daughters and her brothers' sons had a sort of prior claim on one another, and often were promised by their parents almost as soon as born. Such engagements were not enforced, however, if they later proved distasteful to the young couple concerned or to their parents. Secondly, men might take wives of their own choice (except among those they called mother, sister or daughter), provided that the girl and her parents consented. Thirdly, a noted chief or war-chief might have to take to wife a girl presented to him, for fear of offending her parents. Finally, girls captured in war or otherwise seduced or taken without their parents' consent were called by a distinctive term (19). The former were often brought home as presents for the old men. Although the status of this fourth class was apparently somewhat inferior to that of the other wives, that of their children in no way differed from the rest. Obviously, such unions were patrilocal. Du Tertre[3] and Breton both cite cases of unions

3 J.-B. Du Tertre, *Histoire général des Antilles* (Paris, 1667-1671).

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

between father and daughter, brother and sister, and of mother and daughter with the same man; "but the others hated them because of it." Of polygyny, the latter author wrote:

> It is a fact that some of the savages have several wives; yet nevertheless many women are without husbands, because the majority have only one wife, though there are a few who have two in one or two carbets. It happens quite often (when they are in another island where they have not brought their mistresses) that they get themselves new ones for the time of their stay only. I have never seen two women together, eating or sleeping with a Savage, nor travelling together with him in the same canoe. They have their turn, month and month about, even when pregnant. After giving birth they are a good while without seeing them for fear of harming the child.

However, it was not unknown for a wife to remain without seeing her husband for a whole year; and we are told of one case where the neglected woman's father, a chief, sent to warn his son-in-law that unless he put in a speedy appearance, he would find his wife bestowed upon another. Du Tertre, La Borde,[4] and Labat (though not Breton) mention the sororate. "If a husband shows himself worthy," says the latter, "or should his wife grow ill or old, the father-in-law will reward him by presenting him with the younger sister of his wife."

The old records mention no marriage ceremony other than that which consisted in the bride's serving the groom with food, and then eating with him. Then their hammocks would be slung next to one another; and the following day, the bride would comb her husband's hair and smear him with oil and roku (*Bixa orellana*). No women-folk except a man's own wife might eat with him, says Breton; while according to Labat (and present-day usage) not even wives ate with their husbands.

The bridegroom—unless he were a chief or a chief's son—took up his abode with his wife's family, and contributed as best he could to their common weal. Every married woman had her own fire for cooking, however; and every couple its own múyna, to sleep in, as well as the use of the communal tábuy or longhouse, which was divided into men's and women's halves. As has been seen above, if a man had more than one wife, he was expected to divide his time and services between their respective carbets.

Newly married couples were supposed to avoid (for how long we are not told) parents-in-law and siblings-in-law. Nor should they visit sick people, as this might hinder their recovery. According to Rochefort[5] (and present-day

4 (R. P.) de La Borde, *Recueil de divers voyages* (Paris, 1674).

5 César de Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des Antilles de l' Amérique* (Rotterdam, 1665) [also attributed to de Poincy].

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

custom) men did not have intercourse with a woman while she was pregnant; 834
though whether this was intended (like the post-puerperal sexual abstinence recorded by Breton) to safeguard the child, he does not say. The modern Carib does not rationalize this custom, but says it is a matter of taste.

Soon after a child is born [writes Breton] the woman chosen for that purpose 304
reshapes its head by kneading, widening the crown and bringing it down in an equal 846
slope to the eyes, so that the forehead is on a line with the rest.

The mother endeavored to maintain this shape by exerting pressure on the child's head whenever it was asleep on her lap.

Children were named "unofficially" at birth by their mothers or grand- 553
mothers. Later—Breton says eight days, Rochefort twelve to fifteen days, and 852
Du Tertre six months and eight days after birth—a man and a woman were chosen as sponsors to impose a "true" name on the child. It was also they who pierced its ears, underlip, and the division of its nostrils (for the future wearing of karákuli, etc.). The "baby-name," or rather an abbreviated form of it together with that of the father, was the one employed in reference, etc. Thus Kuy´-lírahī-íme stood for Kuy´mene (baby-name) lírahī (*his child*) `Imeruái (father's baby-name). (This custom still obtains, Hamilton the son of Nicolas being currently spoken of as Ham-Nini.) The true name might be retained or changed in after life, but it must be kept secret from all but intimates.

After the birth of his first child, the Island Carib father practised what we 785
now call the couvade; and explained this custom by saying that should he omit [846]
it, not only would others scorn him, but he would the sooner get old and infirm himself, while his new-born child also would suffer. However, under the heading ihwenemátobu *mon premier né, le sujet de mon jeusne* (also *phantaisie*: cf. ihwénəte *a dream;* ihwenémali *a fast*), Breton states that these fasts were practised "particularly at the death of one of their family, at the coming of the first child, and at the capture of an enemy, etc." Moreover they did not necessarily begin coincidentally with the accouchement, etc.: "on the contrary I have seen them come from without, stealthily and in secret a month after the birth, to perform their retreat and fasts." Elsewhere we read of similar prescriptions for candidates for a chieftainship, for would-be shamans, and for girls at the time of their first menses. Ordinarily, these fasts consisted in the faster's lying up in his hammock and abstaining from all food and drink for five days, and from all but boiled cassava drink for another four (Breton). According to Du Tertre, after the first five days besides drinking wiku men ate the centers of cassava-cakes whose outer rims were then strung up and reserved for the elétuak festival. After these nine days they ate manioc-starch cassava-cakes as much as

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

they liked for a further period of two or three months, and thereafter only continued to abstain from certain activities and meats for some time.

When the child began to be given fish to eat at about the age of two years, its hair was cut for the first time ceremonially, and its mother's temples shaved. The piercing of its ears, etc., apparently also took place at this ceremony (nikulukáyanų, nùbukaétių) which, according to Breton's description, was held concurrently with an elétuak festival.

The latter appears to have been a family rather than a tribal affair, although intended for the carrying out of all the *rites de passage*, such as initiation of infants (into the tribe) and adolescents (into manhood), and for the purification and reintegration of those who had for the first time become parents or had killed an enemy.

> Il y a peu de Sauvages qui ayent femmes et enfans, qui ne fassent ce festin icy, qui est un de leurs plus solemnels: ils sont quelque fois des quatre mois à s'y préparer, on y rase le poil des tempes aux femmes, et à leur petits enfans ausquels on commence d'y faire manager du poisson.

Besides large quantities of wiku to be prepared for the feathered dancers (eletuakátių táomáliti) and guests, basketry tables (matútu) and other utensils for the rites must be made, and those asked to help by making them (itawánəmuku) repaid for their trouble by a special drinking-party (ítehwennə). Moreover, after the elétuak festival all such articles were held to be fair plunder for the guests.

The name, elétuak, appears to connote *a putting out from* or *forth-putting*, (cf. éleletuába *incise! let* [*blood*]*!* < éle *power, strength;* and as a stem: *choose, extend, endure:* élele *speech* or *flame;* átu[ra] [*to*]*put forth);* and the essential part of the rites performed on these occasions consisted in blood-letting.[6] Breton goes on to describe them thus:

> . . . les grands, voire les mariez apportent quand et eux des oyseaux de rapine, les petits des petits, les mariez des gros et grands qu'ils ont pris dans le nid et nourris pour ce mystère. Le capitaine qui est prié pour cela prend les oyseaux et leur casse la teste sur leurs testes qui en restent ensanglantées. Il incise les petits et les grands, mène les petits dans leurs lits qui y doivent demeurer sans manger, et en la posture qu'il leur donne, sans laquelle ils croyent qu'ils demeureroient bossus ou contrefais, suivant celle qu'ils prendroient dans ce lit [i. e. hammock]. On écrase les oyseaux des grands (s'ils ont eu enfant, ou s'ils ont tué quelque Arroüague) avec quantité de gros grains de poivre [*Capsicum*], ou pimant [< Carib, boémwę *Capsicum* <

6 Hunters still make razor cuts in their arms to improve their luck, while incision and cupping are practised to relieve pain.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

boémę *crown* ?], puis on les en frotte partout oú ils sont incisez, pensez s'ils ont froid! Pour les restorer on leur donne à manger le coeur de leur oyseau seullement; et crainte qu'il ne leur cause quelque indigestion, dès les grand matin, ils vont à un canari plein d'infusion de tabac, qu'ils boivent à longs traits, et qui leur fait rendre tripes et boudins.

Entre tous les conviés il y en a 6 ou 8 qui se frottent tout le corps de gomme d'Elemie [*Dacryodes excelsa* Vahl] encore liquide et degouttante de l'arbre, à laquelle on attache du duvet, ou petites plumes du festu-en-queue [*Phaeton aethereus*], et on couronne leurs testes de grandes plumes d'Arras, puis on les fait danser, deux à deux, autour du Carbet, l'un estendant son bras droit sur les epaulles de l'autre, et l'autre sa gauche autour du col de son compagnon. Les autres suivent en la meme posture, et en dansant deux à deux jusque a ce qu'ils soient arrivez au lieu où ils trouvent des grandes callebasses pleines d'oüicou, qu'il faut avaller jusqu' à la derniere goutte, encore qu'ils en deussent crever.

Other authors tell us that the "gligli" and "malfini" hawks were the birds usually employed in these rites; that the heart was dried over the fire before it was eaten, and the feet often set aside to be worn in an amulet; that the initiate's head and neck were anointed with oil; and that water, and tobacco and roku *(Bixa orellana)* leaves, as well as *Capsicum,* were crushed up with the bird's body to be rubbed on the men's backs.

No official form of divorce is recorded, but there is plenty of evidence to show that separation and remarriage of wives took place, consequent upon incompetence, neglect, or desertion on the part of the husband. Children always remained, in such cases, with the mother. Widows and widowers were free to remarry when and whom they pleased.

As soon as they are dead [says Breton] they paint them red [with roku], comb them, and, if they are of consequence, wrap them in a fine cotton bed, and in the middle of the hut dig a round hole of a depth proportionate to the posture they give them (which is that which they had in their mother's womb) [Labat says: "seated on a little stool, elbows on knees and chin in cupped hands"] into which they are lowered onto a piece of board placed there, then covered with another such onto which earth is thrown and tears shed, the while they sing their sorrow and lament in a lugubrious tone. This they continue last thing in the evening and at daybreak in the morning for some time. They do not forget their custom of putting bread and wine [cassava-cakes and wiku] on the grave, nor to light a fire all around it for quite a time. After a year they return to weep, remove the boards, throw and trample down earth upon the decayed body, drink the rest of the day and night, and sometimes quit the house and habitation, as I saw them do after the death of their captain, Henri Comte.

Personal belongings, other than those buried with the deceased, usually were burnt.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

582 [161] Today, the Dominica Caribs' sexual selection is limited not only by the smallness of their community (about 400 including half-breeds: men, women, and children), but by a growing disapproval of marriage between close cousins, expressed in the usual way, by ridicule. Nevertheless, unions of a more or less permanent nature between first cousins, half and even full siblings, and of mother and daughter with the same man, have occurred and been tolerated within recent times. There appears to subsist the feeling, moreover, that cross-cousins are "less family" than parallel-cousins; and one old woman expounded to me the widespread belief in the genetic inheritance of father's "spirit" and mother's "blood." Sister exchange is not infrequent, while marriage of two brothers to two sisters is extraordinarily common. I know of at least two cases in which a man has children with his wife's unmarried sister; and I should estimate that polygyny (extra-legal, of course) in general is as frequent today as it ever was, being confined, as is natural, to better-than-average bread-winning males.

883 [574] [517 533] Once school is left behind (12 to 15 years of age), opportunities for anything but furtive meetings between the sexes are rare. The young men spend their days at sea, or working in the high-woods, while the girls, together with their mothers, work around the house, or plant, weed, and reap in provision-gardens scattered far and wide. Neighborly visiting is not common—partly because of petty inter-family feuds, and partly because local standards of hospitality require an exchange of presents between visitor and hostess every time a call is made. The monthly church mass at Salybia, occasional wakes and dances, and the young men's "serenale" on fine moonlit nights are about the only relaxations known. The latter is the name given to promenading bands who make the round of neighboring houses to the accompaniment of Basque tambourines and flutes.

584 [522] Should a young man call at the home of a prospective sweetheart (or of one whose relationship with him was unknown to her parents), he would not mention her, nor would she appear unless called in from the kitchen or back room by her mother or father. Should his visit coincide with a mealtime (at which even strangers present in the yard are always asked to participate), it would be a sure indication that his suit was acceptable, if the girl herself were sent to serve him food and drink. But in no case would either display any affection before others, although clumsy and to us coarse sexual jokes might not be out of place. No tasks are required of a girl's suitor today, though the old people say that former custom required him to limit his attentions to a bi-monthly visit for some time; and that it was his duty to sweep the yard before his sweetheart's house before leaving after these occasions.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

Perhaps it was such restrictions that led to the now all too frequent practice of lying in wait for and seducing a girl who has been sent out for wood or water. The Caribs call this "to wàrikád" (cf. Breton, kawàlikátiti *il est paillard, il monte bien*). It is remarkable that, although she may run away or resist, the average Carib girl will neither call out for help nor betray her and her would-be seducer's presence. On the other hand, once seduced, she will most likely tell her mother of it, although she knows well enough that she alone will be punished for failing to escape.

But apart from all promiscuous relations, there are many extra-legal unions whose character and stability are such that they may be termed orthodox. In these cases, the consent of the girl's parents is requisite, and it is in their home that the young man then comes to live and labor. Hence many parents' reluctance to have their sons marry, and their readiness to accept extra-legal mates for their daughters. Should the young couple prove incompatible, the husband may return to his own home, or seek another mate elsewhere; while any children of the union remain with their mother and receive occasional gifts from their father. More often, however, the union strengthens; and sooner or later a separate establishment in the vicinity of the girl's home is set up, with or without legalization of the marriage. Of romance in our sense there is little, and that little laughed at. Men look for a wife who will prove neither lazy nor weak, women for a mate who will be a good provider. Today, these qualifications are often first sought in those of mixed or full negro blood; but while a Carib man may introduce a Creole wife, a girl who marries outside the Reserve has to leave it.

Legal (or rather, religious) marriages usually take place between mature couples only and when the bride has already given proof of fertility. Actually, it is not uncommon for her to have several children who do not necessarily belong to her husband nor to any other one man. Of course children soon come to be an asset under primitive conditions, and few men are above taking advantage of a wife's pre-marital adolescent daughter; but on the whole Carib men are remarkably tolerant of a wife's pre-marital lapses, and treat her "outside children" as well as their own.

It is not possible to give any general rule as to the frequency or duration of matrilocal (unilocal) residence, as this depends on any number of circumstances. Usually, the younger and less experienced the couple, the longer will they remain without a home of their own; but lack of space or disharmony between young and old may be a deciding factor as against economic interest. The following household lists, taken at random, will serve as examples:

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

591 (1) Father; mother; married daughter, her husband and their children; two
592 unmarried daughters, both with children; one unmarried son.

Three other married daughters have separate establishments in the immediate vicinity, as does one married son. Another married son lives with his wife's family some miles away, and one married daughter lives with her husband's people.

(2) Widowed mother; married daughter, her husband, and their children; widowed son; grandson (the latter is the son of another married daughter who has a separate neighboring establishment).

The widowed son's children live with their maternal grandmother.

(3) Father; mother; mother's pre-marital married daughter with her pre-marital son and her husband; mother's pre-marital son; unmarried daughter and her children; son; small son; small daughter.

586 Legal divorce is unknown to these Caribs, though they apply the word "divorce" to any separation between couples married legally or otherwise, of which there are several examples. In one case the wife left her husband because of ill-treatment; in another the husband abandoned his wife and fled to Guadeloupe (where he remarried) because he was in trouble with the English law; while yet another husband "divorced" because he could not get on with his wife's mother. Separation on grounds of sexual infidelity is very rare—chiefly because such a reason is considered too trivial to break up the union. Widows and widowers are free to remarry as and when they please.

585 Newly married couples as such are subject to no special restrictions, nor is
[606] there any formal avoidance of parents-in-law. Customs and beliefs affecting
[846] behavior at the menstrual period, during pregnancy, and after childbirth have been discussed in another paper.[7] In as far as the latter concern the father as well as the mother, they show vestiges of the couvade.

847 As illegitimate children and their parents are in no way stigmatized, abortion is rare and generally condemned (although on account of changing economic
844 conditions it appears to be now on the increase). Parturition takes place in a crouching position, usually with the aid of the parturient's mother or of some
[827] old sage-femme, who employs massage and various herbal teas or potions (such as a draught of a boy's urine) if she considers it necessary to hasten labor. When she has cut and bound the navel cord, and bathed the child, the sage-femme (or
[304] maternal grandmother) takes the infant on her lap, and inserts a finger under

7 Douglas Taylor, *Carib Folk-Beliefs and Customs from Dominica, B. W. I.* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 1, pp. 507-530, 1945), p. 519.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

its tongue "to break the thread" (?) so that it may the sooner learn to speak. 844
Then she stretches the limbs, pinches the nose, and "gives the head a nice shape" 304
by pressing the forehead with her thumb-pads upward and backward from the supraorbital ridges toward the crown. This proceeding is continued by massaging the forehead, using a circular and upward motion of the palm of the hand. No measures are taken today to maintain the head-shape thus given, and "only old-timers bother to make a child look nice, nowadays." A bulbous or protruding forehead is considered ugly. [826]

The accouchée has to submit to a strict regime for forty days, but the newborn child is suckled in what to us is a haphazard way, given arrowroot or *Canna* starch and herbal teas from the start, and handled by all members of the household. 846 853

The baby-name given to the child at birth is today that by which it is registered; while the "true" name, chosen by the sponsor of like sex, is that now given in baptism. This rite, at which the parents do not assist, usually takes place a month or so after birth, and is followed by either a feast or dance or both. Godparents are chosen rather for their social or economic status than for any spiritual qualities. The relationship is, however, taken very seriously, and parents and godparents address one another as "compère" and "commère." The ears of female infants are pierced and a thread passed through the hole in order to keep it open until such time as rings are acquired. 553 851 608 [304]

Apart from the baby-name and patronymic (baptismal names are, at least among older Caribs, not easily divulged) modern Caribs are supposed to have surnames, which they call titres *titles*. But these are infrequently and irregularly employed, and usually consist of the given name of a grandfather or greatgrandfather. Brothers sometimes bear different "titles"! Illegitimate children take their father's name (as patronymic) and "title." 551 [841]

As soon as they learn to walk, Carib children follow their mothers or big sisters to the river morning and evening, and so acquire early a taste for bathing and the habit of carrying little calabashes of water or other loads more in play than in earnest. Soon their fathers or big brothers make for them tiny carry-alls (shoulder-baskets), traps, fishing rods, etc., so that play and work merge into one another. One of the few non-utilitarian amusements—for some grown-ups as well as for children—is to "run the waves" (courir lames), a local variety of surf-riding which Breton also recorded. When available, the "tote" of a canoe—a plank seat about 9 inches wide by 2½ to 3 ft long—is used; but with a favorable surf, very good "rides" may be had without it, merely by stiffening the body and using the outstretched hands as a rudder. 461 [515] 526

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

871 857 Between the ages of six and twelve children are supposed to attend school in Salybia, in many cases a considerable distance from their homes. This does not, nevertheless, exempt them from fetching wood and water, or running errands for their mothers; and sometimes they will play truant from both and go river-crayfish catching on their own account, at which they are generally much more adept than doing sums or reading. In fact, considering that all school work is conducted in English (a language which few come to understand readily, let alone [212] to speak clearly) it is not surprising if those children who acquire a fair degree of literacy are the exception rather than the rule.

461 476 The average Carib man rises with the sun, and works hard enough, but sporadically, as present interest or inclination dictates. Periods of excessive energy output are followed by days of depression or complete idleness, encouraged doubtless by drinking bouts for which any occasion such as a Church holiday, a wake, or a "coup de main" may be the pretext. The latter system of coöperative work still obtains for such heavy or urgent labor as clearing a patch of woodland for a new provision-garden, hauling a freshly made dug-out from the forest-heights to be finished on the coast, digging the site for a new house or re-roofing an old one. For such tasks, helpers are invited, and no payment is offered, but food and rum are supplied free and *ad libitum* by the owner of the canoe or house, or the maker of the new provision-garden.

463 Of the two most thickly settled districts, St Cyr and Bátaka, the inhabitants of the former hamlet are predominantly seamen and basket-makers, those of the latter, woodsmen and horticulturists. But only those belonging to a very large household can afford to specialize to any considerable extent. Most Carib men must be ready to turn their hand to felling, squaring, and sawing of timber; hunting, sailing, and fishing; the making of dug-outs, basketry, twine, and rope; thatching and broom-making from palm-leaves; even butchering and carpentry. Small wonder that the expert canoe-builder and fine basket weaver are disappearing together with the old joint family.

462 While man may be called the "butter-winner," woman is the "bread-winner" of the Island Carib family (metaphorically speaking; for they see little of either in the literal sense). Her labor, though perhaps less arduous than a man's, is unceasing. It is she who does all the washing and cleaning, cultivates, carries and prepares the starchy tubers that go by the name of food, makes and mends [264] the family's clothes, cares for the children. It is therefore hardly to be looked upon as a strange custom, if she continues as of old to serve the men's meals in [343] the house, herself and the children eating later and at leisure in the kitchen (an outhouse in the yard).

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

After the evening meal, the short period before sleep is usually occupied in recounting in great detail the day's experiences. Like archery and pottery, cotton-spinning and hammock-weaving have become things of the past; and as the average Carib home possesses at most one bed, most of the family sleep on the floor or on hard wooden benches.

Death, burial, and mourning customs have been discussed in a previous paper.[8]

There is in the Carib Reserve no ownership of land other than the right to its produce and further exploitation conferred by continuous use. It is otherwise with (planted) fruit-bearing trees, houses, domestic animals, tools and implements, furniture, and the produce of various pursuits whether in cash or kind. Children are given gardens, trees, young pigs or hens for their own. Grown offspring are of course expected to contribute as best they can to the general economy of their (joint) family so long as they remain with it. But when they go to live with a wife, or to make a separate establishment, they take away with them whatever things or rights are theirs. Thus, the house and its contents belong to whichever spouse built, bought, or inherited them, and in the case of separation would be so allotted. In the event of the death of one of the spouses, the surviving spouse inherits the property of the deceased, but is expected to divide movables in excess of personal requirements between grown offspring or deceased's nearest kin. Provision-gardens may, unless apportioned before the late owner's death, be left intact to be worked communally by the surviving spouse and offspring. The fact that all children are allotted gardens, pigs, etc., of their own tends to prevent squabbles over inheritance. A deceased wife's parents are supposed to help their widowed son-in-law unless and until he remarry into another family. When both parents are dead, the house and its contents belong by right to the youngest surviving child, irrespective of sex. Other property may continue to be held communally (when the family remains together), or be divided equally among all the children or according to agreement or to the expressed wish of the deceased. The "old-time" Caribs are said to have been "uncivilized" because they never left anything for their children.

Kinship, reckoned bi-laterally, is recognized to at least the fourth degree (common law), and often far beyond. Nevertheless, it is rare that any obligation is acknowledge outside the joint family. Therefore, because this is largely matrilocal, greater concern is usually shown for mother's than for father's kin. The (Creole) kinship terminology current today naturally reflects French rather than native social structure, but there are several peculiarities in its employment

8 Taylor, *The Caribs of Dominica*, p. 121.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

which point to Carib or African influence. Such terms as compère, commère, parrain, marraine (contracted to nenène in Creole), filleul, are rarely used (at least in address) in modern European speech; and combosse (relationship between men having had intercourse with the same woman), never! The words for child (zą̈fą̈, ʔi·š) are used in preference to those for son and daughter; for brother's child, sister's child, rather than those meaning nephew and niece; while seniority is always indicated in designating siblings, especially an eldest brother or sister (gʷą̈fʷɛnu, gʷą̈ sɛsɛ nu). Children sometimes address the latter as da or dada, a term they otherwise reserve for their maternal grandmother, and which means, among Creoles, *(children's) nurse.* Pap (or papa), mam (or mamą̈) are used to and of father and mother, pɛ (< père) and mɔpɛ being reserved for priests. Fʷɛ (< frère) and sɛ (< soeur) or sɛsɛ are used in addressing elder siblings, fʷɛ and masɛ in addressing those with whom one made the First Communion together. The latter term also is used of and to a nun. Grandparents may be addressed as Pap N–, Mam N–; N– standing in most cases for their own given names, but in two recorded cases for that of their youngest children. Gʷą̈papa (< grandpapa) and gʷą̈mamą̈ or gą̈gan are employed chiefly in reference. The latter term is applied to a woman's relationship to the child she put into the world (as a sage-femme) whether or not it be her own grandchild.

LIST OF KINSHIP TERMS

In the following list, pronominal prefixes, separated by a hyphen from the stem, are:

1st person: i-, in-, ya-, yen-; k-, ki- (man speaking)
n-, na-, ni-, nu-; w-, wa- (man or woman speaking)

2nd person: a-, e-, ay-, ey- (man speaking)
b-, p-, ba-, bɛ-, bu-; h-, hʷ- (man or woman speaking)

3rd person: l- (-li, -ri, -ti) (male class)
t-, d- (-ru, -tu) (non-male class)
nh-, nha- (-tių̈, -yų̈, -nų̈) (common plural)

Alternative forms of the same term are given under the same number. Those still remembered (1942) are in italics. Forms and interpretations not given by Breton are in parentheses. Plurals are indicated by pl. d is a nonaspirate voiceless stop; p is a voiceless bilabial spirant; q is a glottal g or k; ñ replaces Breton's digraph /gn/. The last sound did not exist in recent Carib at least, its place being taken by /y/ with nasalization of the preceding vowel. A hook (as ą̈) denotes a nasal vowel.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

Abbreviations used in interpreting the terms are: w, wife; h, husband; m, mother; f, father; d, daughter; s, son; sp, spouse; ch, child; ss, sister; br, brother; ne, nephew; ni, niece; gf, grandfather, etc.; o br, elder brother, etc.; y br, younger brother, etc.; voc, vocative.

No.	Term	Meanings: Man speaking	Meanings: Either Sex	Meanings: Woman speaking
1	wekéli, *(wī́ kīri)*	man, male		
	pl: wékɔlie	men, males		
2	éyeri; pl: eyérių			man, men
3	wéle, *(wī́ rī)*	woman, female		
	pl: ulíe *(wī́ rīe)*	women, females		
4	ʃharu, *(hʸʃharu)*			woman
	pl: ʃnoyų			women
5	kallínago, (karínaku)	Carib		
	pl: kallinágoyų	Caribs		
6	kallíponą *(karipúnų)*		Carib	Carib
7	nu- or yu-múliku	Carib kinsman from any island		
8	n-íbe, ni-kíbe	tribe or kinsman		
9	i-túke, ni-túkae *(túkeų)*			kin, like, or tribesman
10	t-íño, t-iñu	husband		
11	t-ébu, t-éhemu	husband		
12	*(n-úbu, n-ubúali)*		husband	
13	*ni-ráiti*			husband
	pl: nhà-rítie			husbands
14	ni-ráitikani			fiancé
15	yen-éneri	wife		
16	n-íbwitɔ	(principal) wife		
	pl: t-ébwiye	(principal) wives		
17	kyéito	(subsequent) wife		
	pl: keyéitonų	(subsequent) wives		
18	i-bwiñáku	(subsequent) wife		
19	n-ubuyáoni	concubine or concubinage		
	(n-ubwiyáų)	concubine or devirginated		

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

601

No.	Term	Meanings: Man speaking	Meanings: Either Sex	Meanings: Woman speaking
20	n-ubuyámoni	"co-rival"		
	(n-ubwiyámǫ)	"co-rival"		
21	n-íani			wife; wives
	pl: n-iánių			
22	n-iánikani	fiancée		
23	*(n-àtarí)*		fiancée, sweetheart	
24	n-aníre	br w; w ss		h br; (ss h)
25	ni-ránių	br w		ss h
26	wa-ránįku	w ss		(h br)
27	n-ibą́ku	ss h		ss h (girl speaking)
28	*ibámuy*	ss h (w br)		
29	yéruti	ss h		
30	tìu-we	ally!*		
31	*imetámuru*	w f (lit. s gf)		
	imetą́ku	w f (lit. s gf)		
32	iménuti,	w m (lit. s gm)		
	iménti, (imentí)	w m (lit. s gm)		
	iméneku	w m (lit. s gm)		
33	n-étiñǫ, n-ítiñǫ		progenitor, ancestor	h f or h m, d h
	pl: hw-eteñonų			
34	n-ítą,	w br s	d h, woman's br s	d h or br s
	n-ítiti			d h
35	ibáli-muku	d h (lit. gs person)		
	(mútu)		person (homo)	
36	n-ákreę, -ákɔre		s w	
37	ibátomǫ			h ss s
38	n-ĩkɔkayę		f ss h, m ss h	
39	ini-emútuli	w ch (step-child)		
40	ni-rahĩ́kayę			h ch (step-child)
41	y-iumą́tɔni	m h (step-father)		
42	i-šanų́tɔni	f w (step-mother)		

* Vocative form of address between men whose wives are sisters.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

601

No.	Term	Meanings: Man speaking	Meanings: Either Sex	Meanings: Woman speaking
43	nu-kúšuru-tónaru			f w (step-mother)
44	n-íšeru		ch sp parent	
45	n-íešę		namesake	
46	n-ášoni		name-("god") child	
47	ašúti-na			name-father
48	y-amáši-ri	name-father		chief, headman
	y-amaši-kali	name-father		
49	in-ebenébuli, y-ebénene	sponsor who incises initiate at puberty ceremony		
50	i-bawánale	formal friend		
51	ini-bwináliku	formal friend		
52	in-ínibwe	br formal friend		
53	n-itíñaǫ			formal-friend
54	ini-égali	joking friend		
55	i-bwinɔne	girl friend		
56	íloy, íluy	o br, f br os, m ss o s		
	pl: k-ilumą́ku			
57	n-onabútuli	as 56		
58	ąhį-we	vocative term of address to 56/57		
59	*n-ibukahyę*			o br, f br o s, m ss o s
	pl: -ibukáñonų			
60	n-íbiri	y br, f br y s, m ss y s	half, moiety	
	pl: k-ibírię			
61	i-bwíkəliri	br following in age		
62	n-arísiti			br following in age
63	n-ámuleę			y br
64	n-amulélua			y ss
65	w-ámue		y br! (term of address to)	
66	w-ámuą		y ss! (term of address to)	

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

601

No.	Term	Meanings: Man speaking	Either Sex	Woman speaking
67	ya- or ni-nąti, or i-nawti pl: ki-naúnų	ss, d, f br d, m ss d		
68	n-ítu pl: wa?-átonų n-itu wá-butu n-itu wa-báratu			sister o ss o ss,
69	bíbi	(term of address)	m, o ss, m ss, m ss o d	o br
70	ya-patáganų	f ss s †		
71	*n-ígatu, (-igītu)*		m br s (male kin)	
72	ni-wéle-átonų	f ss d		
73	na-hĭ´ payę-átonų	f ss d		
74	n-íkəliri			m br s
75	ni-wéleri	f ss d §		
76	yumáų pl: k-íñuku	f, f br		
77	*nu-, bo-, wa-kúsili* pl: wa-kusilių			f, f br
78	baba (voc. bab-ue!)	term of address to f, f br		
79	i-šánų, i-šánəku	m, m ss		
80	na-*kúsuru*			m m ss
81	ím, *(ímu)*, ímuru, imáku	my son, son, br s, etc.		
82	*ni-rahī*, ni-ráhī ni-ráhī-im		child	d, ss d s, ss s
83	i-táganų			s
84	niį-ké-ili niį-ké-iru niį-ké-inų		little boy little girl little children	
85	ya-, ni-moęri	d, br d		
86	akátobu		m br	
87	ni-yáu-lite yáo		m br	

† When there are no sisters to marry.

§ Terms 74 and 75 are used when cross-cousin marriage is projected.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

No.	Term	Meanings: Men speaking	Either Sex	Woman speaking
88	ya-, na-hĺ́puli		f m	
89	ya-, ni-nątaganų	m s		
90	ni-báše	m d		h m d
91	ibámuyn-ígatu	w br s m h?		
92	ibámuyn-íkapue	m s w br?		
93	i-támuru, inámu-ku	gf		
	pl: -nąku		forebear	
94	n-árguti			gf
95	ínuti	gm		
	pl: ináwtinų, k-inoyę			
96	n-agetí			gm
	pl: w-ágetmə			
97	n-íbuli, *(n-ibúi)*	g s	g ch, small ch	
	pl: n-ibáñę, *(n-ibąyę)*			
98	y-eqe	g ch, suckling		
	n-ilígini			g ch, suckling
99	n-ínibue	m s ch?	m ch	
	in-ínibue			
100	n-ítąpue		m ch	br s ch?
	n-ítąmue			

DISCUSSION OF THE TERMS

The foregoing table has been divided, for the sake of convenience, into three sections: men speaking, men or women speaking, women speaking. But the dual character of the terminology should not on this account be supposed to have purely linguistic significance. Actually a good deal of reciprocal borrowing in the latter sphere had already taken place by Breton's day (cf. the indifferent employment of men's or women's pronominal prefixes in 7, 9, 49, 85, 88, 89; the use of the women's term 21 to form the men's compound term 22; and that of the men's term 81 to form the women's compound term 82). Some terms were used by both sexes to express the same relationship or to designate the same person (27, 34, 36, 69, 90, and probably 86 and 87), while others were employed for corresponding relationships by either sex (25, 26). But more often a differentiated terminology expresses what to the Caribs was a distinction in relation-

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

60] ship rather than in language between the sexes. Thus the term used for *my younger brother* (m.sp.) (60) means *my (other) half* while that used by the women for *my sister* (68) means *like me*. Obviously such terms were apt only when used by one sex. That it was the relationship spoken of, and not the sex of the speaker which decided the term to be employed in such cases is shown by the "men's terms" for ss s (89) and f ss s (70). Both these are compound terms containing *not* the "women's term" for *son*, but the term for a *woman's son*, itáganų (83) together with that for a *man's sister* (in the former case) or *father's sister* (in the latter) (67 and 88; cf. 73). The terms employed for men's (60) and women's (63) *younger brothers* could be used as ordinary words by both sexes with respective meanings *half* and *mate, companion*.

Breton, while he gives a substantial and probably complete list of kinship terms used in his day, is often inexplicit and sometimes inconsistent as to their application.

Les cousins germains que nous appellons fils des frères du Père, se nomment frères, et ces frères du Père sont aussi appellez Pères; et les enfans de ses frères ne contractent point d'alliance par ensemble, mais bien avec les enfans des soeurs de leur Peres, que s'il n'y avoit point de filles, ils s'appelleroient, *Iepatáganum*.

We are left to deduce from the type of cross-cousin marriage and classificatory system described, that fathers' brothers' wives and daughters were classed as mothers and sisters and were identical, in theory at least, with mother's sisters and their children. It should further be borne in mind that all those terms whose designation involves the relationships of *father, mother, brother, sister, son*, or *daughter* probably participated in the extended application given to these classes; and that, e. g., f f br d d was in all likelihood called by the same term as f ss d, and considered as an equally eligible wife. The belief in the existence of exogamic clans among the Island Carib appears to be based solely upon this assumption.

The term n-i'kɔkaye (38), defined in one place as f ss h, is given in another place as "uncle who has married my maternal aunt," and in yet a third, as an alternative to 86, 87, as m br.[9] The terms ibámuy (28) and n-ibą́ku (27) are given as men's and girls' names respectively for ss h, while w br, h ss, and br w (w. sp.) are nowhere mentioned explicitly. The relevant text reads:

les cousins (quand ils sont mariez) quittent tous ces noms précédés [70-75] pour retenir celuy-cy [ibámuy]. [The term] nibancou, est celuy qu'elles retiennent, je

9 See Breton, *Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François*, pp. 11, 225; *Dictionnaire François-Caraïbe*, p. 265.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

veux dire les cousines. Les susdits cousins appellent les enfans des susdits mariages veuns des oncles, *ïbémoüi nicepoüe*, et des tantes, *ïbémoüi nigatou* [92 and 91]. 601

Aleatory as such an attempt must be, it is today only by an analysis of the terms themselves that we may hope to make their significance more clear, and with it that of the Island Carib social structure itself. Fortunately, Carib kinship terms were connotatively alive as our own seldom are—a circumstance which helps to explain much. Then again, it will be found that because many kinship terms are petrified verb forms, they require, in order to "make sense," pronominal affixes which are not just "possessives" but serve as subject and/or object (cf. 10 to 13). Thus also the apparent anomaly as described by Breton, according to whom "adjectives and participles always have two numbers," while only "several substantives have plurals," disappears. The fact is that the latter are not substantives at all, but for the most part attributive verb forms, and as such take a third person pronominal suffix as subject, which changes in the plural.

Breton employs all the terms given for husband (10 to 13) as verbs: káte b-íñoę (b-éboyę be-ʾémoyę, or b-iráitię)? *who is thy husband?* Analytically, the stems of 10 and 11 appear to mean *raise up* and *put upon* or *before* respectively, while that of 13 (cf. 25, 26, 82) is cognate with ráhï *little*, irákali *split*, irána *divided*, ira *juice*.

Nos. 11 and 16 may be referred to ébu *hammock;* ébue *mount, handle, custom or usage, anything which supports, bears or carries something else:* 1-ébue Houel kabáyu, nh-ébue kalinago nhá-kuni *Houel's* (name) *mount (is a) horse, the Caribs' mounts (are) their canoes.* Moreover, Breton gives ebwépati as meaning either *he has no mount* or *he has no wife;* while in present-day Caribs' slang, wàrikśd (cf. Breton: kawàlikátiti *il monte bien*, or *il est paillard*) means *to go after girls;* and a typical insult to a girl who has a lover, N-, is to call her "Mr N-'s horse"!

The usual terms for wife, 15 (m sp) and 21 (w sp) appear to be related to énega *ornament*, enéęti *apparent*, and to iari *ornament*, iali or ʃhati *serene, open, clear, transparent* of the men's and women's languages respectively (cf. also 4, and ʃhara *to bewitch*, ʃhęti *high, elevated*).

No. 17 apparently consists of the same stem as 68 (nïtu *my sister*), plus the activating element k- and the repetitive -ye- (cf. -ña- in 18, -ya- in 19 and 20). It therefore seems probable that a secondary wife was designated by term 17 or term 18 depending on whether she was the first wife's sister or not.

The significance of 19 and 20 is bound up with that of 12. Although Breton does not give the latter as a kinship term, he has the same word in feminine form as lubúaru *se putein*. Actually, -ubúali, -ubúaru probably mean

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

601 *is* or *has put down, taken possession of,* or *subjugated him,* or *her* (cf. -upu *foot;* ubúri *power;* úbutu *a chief;* ubutúmaḻ to *dominate;* úbụye, -ubónuku *domain* or *domicile;*[10] t-úboyę̣, t-ubóyana *matter* or *substance*) and referred primarily to partners in unorthodox unions, or in those achieved without or against the consent of the girl's parents, whether by force, seduction, or elopement consequent on mutual affection. It is interesting to note that the typically Indian "affinity" between men who have enjoyed the same woman's favors is not only still recognized by the Caribs (see 20), but that this concept is now familiar to the Negro population, and is generally known by the Creole term kɔbɔs, or combosse.

The term 14 and 22 for betrothed are compounds of those for husband (13) and wife (21) respectively, with the suffix -kani *(that) which is to be.* No. 23, n-àtarí *my sweetheart,* though not given by Breton, may confidently be derived from his atarírak"a *accorder, convenir.*

Breton gives the following terms for siblings-in-law:

ss h (m sp):	yéruti (29)	
	ibɬ́muy (28);	(w sp): n-irɑ́niụ (25)
	n-ibɬ́ku (27);	(girl sp): n-ibɬ́ku (27)
br w (m sp):	n-irániụ (25)	
	n-aníre (24)	
w ss (m sp):	waranḻku (26)	
	n-aníre (24)	
h br		(w sp): n-aníre (24)

Besides the absence of terms for w br, h ss, and br w, (w sp), there are several points worth noticing. No. 24 is employed twice by the men and once by the women for a sibling-in-law of opposite sex; and for the former, alternative terms are given for both relationships. One of these, 25, is used by the men for br w, and by the women for ss h; and therefore may be said to designate "spouse of my sibling-of-like-sex." Analysis shows that both 25 and 26 contain the same root as 13 and 82, and that the former pair consists of two complementary phrases whose contents may be rendered approximately by *I-share-(with)-them* and *our sharer* or *who-shares-(with)-us* respectively. Thus the father-mother-child classification assumed at the beginning of this discussion is confirmed and 26 (ss "my spouse's sibling-of-like-sex") shown to be applicable to

10 The occurrence of this word, which Breton spelled -obógne and Rat -úbuye, for *house* or *domicile* suggests that n-ubúali and n-obúaru may have signified nothing further than *house-mate* on an analogy with the Creole term fam kay woman (of the) *house* for an extra-legal wife with whom one lives.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

h br (w sp) as well as to w ss (m sp). The term 24 was obviously one used during the period of ceremonial avoidance imposed on newly wedded couples in their relations with parents-in-law and sibling-in-law (cf. aníra *to undo*, or *do from;* tére *to turn aside*). Although neither Breton nor the term itself indicates how long this period lasted, it seems probable that it did not outlast the wife's first pregnancy. It must, on the other hand, have been applicable to all four "sibling-in-law-of-opposite-sex" relationships, and have therefore included that of ss h (w sp) as well as the three which are listed above. It may very probably have applied further to w m and h f, although of course the latter would not form a part of the matrilocal household.

This still leaves w br, h ss, and br w (w sp) unaccounted for. These affinals would not normally form a part of the matrilocal household; and would be identical, under the cross-cousin marriage system practised, with f ss s (m sp), m br d (w sp), and f ss d (w sp). As will be seen below and with the partial exception of the first (see 70), terms for these consanguineal relationships are also missing. Rochefort claims that all cousins of like sex called each other brother and sister, but this is not confirmed by either Du Tertre or Breton. If we are to accept the latter's remarks, quoted above, at their face value, it would appear that ibámuy (28) was used as a reciprocal for w br—ss h (m sp), and n-ibą́ku (27) as another for h ss—br w (w sp), as well as its recorded use "by girls" for ss h. There can at least be no etymological objection to such an interpretation, both terms being related to ibámwę *to breed, people,* or *multiply,* and every individual hypothetically designated by them being a potential grandparent of speaker's ibáli *grand-child* (97). Moreover, a tentative analysis of terms 91 and 92 (see below) supports this view with regard to the term ibámuy (28). This hypothesis might, if correct, point to an original system of sister exchange, with matrilineal descent (see also 33 and 67 below). The term yéruti (29), given as an alternative to 27 and 28 for ss h (m sp), may have designated originally a wife's unmarried brother, and derive from yéruni *that which remains.*

The men's terms for father-in-law, mother-in-law—or more precisely the common terms for (a man's) w f and w m (31 and 32)—are teknonyms meaning *son's grandfather* and *son's grandmother* respectively (cf. 81, 93, 95). With this may be compared the usage reported by Breton, who says that it was considered impolite to employ the names of married people in their presence either in reference or address. They should be spoken of or to, he says, as "father of N—, mother of Y—. "Although this is not the rule today, I know of two old couples who are habitually so called: "Pap N—", "Mam N—": N—standing in either case for the name of their youngest child. The reciprocal relationship

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

601 d h (m sp) is likewise designated by a teknonymous term, ibáli-muku *grandchild-person* (35; see 97 and cf. 93, 31, the forms i-tą́ku, i-tamuku).

No. 33, -éteñǫ or -ítiñǫ *progenitor*, was used of (a woman's) h f, h m, and d h. This term appears to be a compound containing the roots of éte or íti *stock, foundation, rump* (as in 13, n-íráiti *my husband*), and of íñu (ra) *(to) raise up* (as in 10) (cf. also mámba éteñǫ *bee*, from mámba *honey;* n-ukabo-ítiñǫ *my thumb* > n-úkabo *my hand*). No. 34, -ítą was also used by both sexes to designate d h or (a woman's) br s (another confirmation of the practice of unilateral cross-cousin marriage). All these terms (93, 33, 34), equating to some extent gr f, h f, h m, d h, and w br s, appear to contain the concept of incoming stock or breeders, and point to original matrilineages.

The term given for s w (m or w sp) is -ákre, or -ákəre (36), and appears to connote *bound* or *connected* (cf. ákəra *to bind;* ákəle *throat* or *fat;* kre• or kle• *to be wanting, desiring*). That given for (a man's) ss d is -ibáše (90), presumably composed of the stems iba- *increase, prolong, project* (cf. 27, 28, 97), and še *out of, from, by, through.* This looks suspiciously like another teknonym on a parallel with 35 for d h. (A man's) ss s is ni- or ya-nątáganų (89), and is composed of the terms for (a man's) sister (67) and (a woman's) son (83). No term is listed for (a woman's) br d, but there is one, ibátomǫ (37) for h ss s. The significance of this latter term is obscure, but it may possibly be a compound of terms 97 and 86, and mean grandchild's m br.

The existence of such appellations as tíu-*we ally!* for men whose wives are sisters; íšeru (? *esteemed, looked up to?*) for parents whose son and daughter are married to one another (see 30 and 44) might suggest that first cousin marriages were rare. However, even present-day Caribs always give preference to the term for an achieved relationship. Thus, true physiological siblings will call one another compère or commère if one of them has sponsored the other's child; while children call an uncle or aunt who is at the same time a god-parent parrain or marraine. A married woman is usually spoken of and to, even by her own parents and siblings, as "Ma' N—"; N—standing for the husband's given name.

Turning next to consanguineal relationships, we find that sibling terminology shows more concern with seniority than with sex. The men had two terms (56, 57), and the women one term (59) for o br, all three of which mean *he is* (or) *comes in front of (me)* or *(my) predecessor.* Terms 61 and 62 meaning *(my) follower* were used for a brother "next after" in age; while y br was termed a man's *(other) half*, and a woman's *mate, companion* (60 and 63). It is noteworthy that a man's sister was called by a term (67) which otherwise meant

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

plant, and this word was further employed as an alternative to (or in combination with) 85 for daughter. The woman's relationship to her sister was expressed by a term (68, nítu *my sister;* wátonų or waʾátonų *our sisters)* which is apparently cognate with, and of similar meaning to, itúke (9) *like, kin, kind.* W–ábutu or wa–báratu *before us* coming after this term denoted an elder sister; while a woman's younger sister was called by the same name as her younger brother, with the addition of the female pronominal affix –lu– (64). The men used a special term of address to o br (58) the meaning of which is not clear. On the other hand, terms 65 and 66, used by both sexes in addressing a y br and y ss, are apparently only vocative forms of 63 and 64. Bíbi (69) was used by both sexes in addressing a mother or elder sister (or their classificatory equivalents), and, by the women, in addressing an o br. 601

Before considering cross-cousin and other collateral kinship, it will be as well to attempt the analysis of the parent-child terminology. The men's term yúmaą *my father* (76) resembles the word yúma *mouth, bung;* while its plural (k-iñuku *our fathers*) recalls the stem –iñu, already found in 10 (compare also yubánane *defender).* Išánų or išánuku *my mother* (m sp) (79) may be referred to išánumali *esteem, love, desire* (subst.); šišánumaį *to love,* etc., šišanų´twi *to engender,* šánumaį *to put forth, serve* < ánumaį *to be put forth,* etc. The women's terms for their parents are identical, except for male and female pronominal suffixes (77 and 80) and appear to be petrified verb forms signifying *he* (or) *she sundered* (or) *put (me) apart.*

N–iráhī (82) *my little one* ("result of my division"; cf. 13) and im (81) *my son* ("fruit, seed") have no inherent sexual significance, although, according to Breton, the women used the former of their daughters, the men the latter of their sons, while a combination of the two served the women to denote a son. No. 83, i-táganų, was a term used by both sexes to denote a woman's son, i. e. *the relationship of a male child to its mother* (cf. 70 and 89). This term is almost certainly derived from átaga to *obturate* (cf. tagáali *bouché, enrhumé;* tagayunéeru *elle est enceinte;* atágɔni *bung, stopper)* and appears to contrast with terms in –itu, –átu, –átonų (9, 68, 71, 72, 73), which stems may well be related to átura *to put forth, spread, make open* or *available.* Whether this term (i–táganų) implied that the Caribs, like the New Caledonians according to Leenhardt, considered woman as a being "who is not closed" until she bears a son; or that they held that "vir finis familiæ," one can only guess. A man's *daughter,* ya– or nimoęri (85) may be compared to amoęteree *only son* and to ámoę *one, single;* ámię *other.*

No terms are given for m br w or for f br w, who were presumably classed

601 as mothers; but n–īkəkayę (38) is given for f ss h (as well as for m br, as an alternative to 86, 87). Considering that Island Carib families were (and still are) matrilocal, and that the men, or at any rate some of them, were only visiting husbands, we should expect to find the m br playing an important role in children's lives, and to find this circumstance reflected in the terminology. Breton gives without distinguishing them two terms (apart from that, 38, mentioned above) for this relationship: yáo *m br* (> ni-yáulite *my m br)* and akátobu *m br.* The first (cf. yáo *thanks;* yáǫ *right hand, hand with which one climbs* > kayǫti *he climbs, goes up)* appears to mean something like *ascendant;* the latter *(my) mould; source of (my) shape* (or) *of my being* (cf. ákat *hammock;* akáli *shape, form, soul;* ákae *vessel, pot, case, sheath;* [toka saga] n-ákaye [*celle cy est*] *ma mère).* The instrumental suffix –tobu means *that with, from* or *by means of which,* or *on account of which:* (inibakátobu [*thing*] *by means of which I was saved* > inibákali *he whom I saved;* ikabátobu *camp-ground;* yalikátobu, emeiñuátobu *birthplace).* No. 88, na- or ya-hïpuli *my f ss* probably connotes *(the one) toward (whom) I go out* (cf. -ahï *off toward;* puli- *out from),* referring to his presumptive marriage and transfer into his father's sister's household. The reciprocal relationship of ss s ss d (m sp) and br s (w sp) have already been discussed above (see 89, 90, 34; br d [w sp] is not listed).

The confusion with regard to the application of term 38, n–īkəkayę, may suggest that bilateral cross-cousin marriage was practised, especially as no terms are given for a woman's br w and br d. However, this was obviously not so, for Breton writes:

> *Nigatou,* c'est ainsi que les cousines appellent leurs cousins maternels lors que leurs soeurs ne se marient pas avec eux; et les cousins en tel cas les appellent *niouelle atonum.* Ceux cy en cas qu'ils se doivent prendre en mariage, les appellent *nioüélleri:* et celles la eux *nikêliri.*

Combining the cross-cousin with the affinal terminology already discussed, we get the following set up. For the men:

f ss s (70)
f ss d (72, 73) → betrothed (22) → wife (15)
→ br betrothed (75) → br w (24 → 25)
→ betrothed ss (75?) → w ss (24 → 26)
ss h (27, 28, 29);

for the women:
m br s (71) → betrothed (14) → husband (13)
→ ss betrothed (74) → ss h (27, 24 → 25)
→ betrothed br (74?) → h br (24 → 26),

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

601

from which m br d and br w are missing. Nor are we told, with the partial exception of f ss s (70) and that of a man's ss h (27, 28, 29), what cross-cousins of like sex called one another either before or after marriage. Moreover while terms are given for f ss h (38), h ss s (37), a man's ss s and ss s ch (89 and 99), for a man's ss d or h ss d (90), or a woman's br s or w br s (34), there apparently was none for m br w, for a woman's br d or w br d or her children.

The terms themselves are mostly compounds, and show concern mainly with function in the production of descendants (-ibayę 97). The term f ss s (70) is a compound of the terms for a man's f ss (88) and that for a woman's s (83). With it may be compared 73 which still more clearly contains the word for paternal aunt (80). The alternative to the latter, ni-wele-átonụ *f ss d* (72), should be compared to n-ígatu (or n-igïtu, 71) *m br s* on the one hand, and both these to the corresponding terms employed in their stead when a "marriage had been arranged," ni-wéle-ri (75) and n-ikəli-ri (74). Nos. 72 (which appears to be a plural form) and 75 clearly contain the word wéle *woman, female* (3), while the stem of 74 almost as plainly derives from wékeli (or wïkïri) *man male* (1). From this—and from the contrasting suffixes, -átu (-átonụ) and -ri —we may safely deduce that the stem of nígatu is also a contraction of 1. The meanings of these terms may therefore be assumed to be *like,* or *akin to my woman* (72) or *to my man* (71), and *has become* or *is my woman* (75) or *my man* (74).

Before leaving the terms for collateral kin, it will be as well to mention two frankly compound terms, ibámuy-níkapue (92) and ibámuy-nígatu (91) which Breton rather loosely defined (see above) as the cross-cousins' names for the children of cross-cousin marriages on the uncles' and aunts' sides respectively. Elsewhere he refers to them as being "nephews who are farther removed (plus reculés)" than those classed under 81 and 82, 89 or 37. As far as I can judge, these terms can apply only to ss s w br (= m br d s) and w br s ss h (=f ss s d h), since all other "nephews" are already accounted for in the terminology. In this case, ibámuy must be taken as applying to (a man's) wife's brother as well as to his sister's husband; while níkapue would designate *my* (m sp) *sister's son* (literally, níkapue probably means *my male descendant*), and nígatu would designate in this case *my wife's br s* (literally *male kin*). Thus we may write ibámuy-níkapue *w br – (of) my w ss s* (m sp) and ibámuy-nígatu *ss h- (of) my w br s* (m sp).

Of n-ínibue (or inínibue) and n-ítamue (or n-ítạpue) Breton says: "c'est ainsi que les Oncles et les Tantes nomment les enfants de leurs nepveux, ceux

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

601 cy les nomment ainsi que dessus, comme leurs Peres" (100). Presuming that the "uncles" and "aunts" are those whom they and their fathers call akátobu (86) and nahīpuli (88), these "nephews" are (men's) ss s s and (women's) br s s (when these are not d s?). These terms should be compared to 52 and 34 respectively.

Paternal and maternal sides were apparently merged in the grandchild-grandparent generation. Ob íbali (97), the usual term for gr ch Breton says: "Petit enfant, petits enfans. Tous les arrières fils sont ainsi nommez par les grand-pères, et grande-mères." The word itself appears to mean *offspring, progeny, increase.* Although men and women had different terms for gr f and gr m, their meanings appear to have corresponded pretty closely. Nor do the latter indicate any differentiation in affiliation. Grandfather was -támuru or -támuku to the men, -árguti to the women (93 and 94). The former appears to be related to atámura *to capture,* támǫ *captive,* atábura *to enclose (or) close under;* the latter may be compared to árgeta or árgīta *to hunt, take, capture.* With the women's term for grandmother, -agete (96), compare ágeta *to nourish, suckle;* whence also two other terms, yege (m sp) and nilígini (w sp) *my grandchild* or *animal that I have reared* (98). The men's term for gr m, ínuti (95) and its plurals, ináwtinų, k-inoyę are more obscure. They appear to be related however to ʔíharu *woman,* ʔínoyų *women* (4) and perhaps ultimately to ʔíhuti *raised, exalted;* ʔíhoni *that which is on high;* š-inuta-e *to put out from, to leave;* inúbali *gift;* with the significance *out (or) forth from (her).* These two pairs of terms probably reflect the structure of the matrilineal joint family in which the grandfather was hunter and fisher, the grandmother the provider of other sustenance.

[603] Among the present day Carib in Dominica, a woman usually has more to do with the upbringing of her daughter's child than its own mother, and is in consequence often called da or dada *nurse* by it instead of gą̄gan *grandmother.* I have even known a woman to suckle her daughter's child! On the other hand, [847] probably because (until the law forbade it quite recently) women usually delivered their own daughters, a child calls the sage-femme who put it into the world gą̄gan. These last two terms are, of course, Creole.

Among the remaining terms, perhaps the most interesting are those for *(formal) friend* and *joking friend* (50 to 54). Breton gives i-bawánale (50) and ini-buynáliku (51) (m sp), and ni-tíñao (53) (w sp) *mon ami, mon compère* for the former relationship, of which he says:

Ce mot de compère est en usage en toutes les Isles où il y a des Sauvages, tant parmi les François, lors qu'ils traittent avec leurs amis Sauvages, que parmy les Sauvages

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

quand ils parlent en François avec lequel ils ont contracté amitié, le François donne son nom au Sauvage et le Sauvage le sien au François, s'il ne luy donne pas sa traite, au moins il le préfère aux autres, et cela n'est pas sans lui apporter quelque profit. 601

Unfortunately this gives us no information as to the implications of the relationship between Caribs. However, he elsewhere lists a term for *brother's friend* (see 52) of which he says:

Les Sauvages ont tous un amy particulier, auquel ils ont une créance toute extraordinaire chacun au sien, et ils l'appellent *ibaoüánale, nitignaom* [cf. matíaon nomêti *je n'en ay point*], l'amitié est bien telle qu'elle passe jusqu'aux autres frères, qui l'appellent le compère ou l'ami de leur frère.

The terms themselves may be explained as follows: i-bawánale *(one who) deals with me* (cf. bawánamᵉ *to trade, deal;* bawanaku or bawana-muku *dealer, merchant;* imále *with me, together with me*); íni-buynáliku *being dear to me* (cf. ibúynəli *preference, love, friendship*); ni-tíñaǫ (or more probably ni-tʃyaǫ) *co-begetter, co-stock* (? cf. 10, 33, 34, also 19 "co-subduer"). No. 52 is the same as 99, ne ch. Although in- is used sometimes as a man's possessive *my*, ini- appears to be used here (and in 51, 54, 39, and 99) in the broad sense of *affiliate.* Thus ini-égali (54: "c'est le nom que prennent ceux qui raillent et boufonnent par ensemble à toute rencontre") probably means *affiliate by forthrightness* (cf. aləlégai *to joke* > álələ *saliva, slaver;* š-ekalé-kʷa *to make outward,* "*to come out with it*"; šekai *to put out from*). No. 55, ibwínene, means simply *one dear to me.* The step-child—step-parent relationship is designated by terms 39 to 43. The women's term ni-rahīkayę *my step-child* (40) may be referred to 82 for the stem and to 38 and 59 for the suffix. The significance of the latter appears to be *he becomes (my child, etc.)* or rather *I be-child (him), I be-father (him), I put (him) before* (40, 38, and 59 respectively). The men's term, 39, ini-emútuli *step-child* appears to have the same stem as 81, *son* together with a suffix -tuli, meaning *put out* (cf. the Creole expression, zą́fą́ dehɔ *outside child* for one whose mother's husband is not its father). Nos. 41 and 42 are merely the men's words for *father, mother,* with the suffixed element -təni, which probably derives from tenéᵉti *like, resembling;* while 43 is the woman's term for *mother,* with a suffix, -tonaru, which has a similar meaning to -tuli, *out from.*

The Caribs' preoccupation with names and naming is reflected in terms for *namesake* (45), *name-child* (46), and *name-giver* (47) (cf. aš́á-ba-e *impose [a name] on him!*). No. 48 is given as the men's term for *(name-) sponsor* and the women's term for *chief, headman* (the men using úbutu *chief;* wayubutúliku *he is our chief).* No. 49 in-ebenébuli or y-ebénene *my sponsor (or) incisor,* 551

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

551 comes from ebéne *lancet*, yebéni *my lancet* (a hafted tooth of *Dasyprocta agouti*), and means literally *who released* (i.e. let blood) *from me.*

CONCLUSION

114 It will be apparent from the foregoing that the picture of Island Carib
174 society in early colonial days, left to us by the French missionary fathers of the seventeenth century, contains many gaps and ambiguities which it is now too late to fill in and elucidate.

The story of the Carib conquest of the islands as told to Breton by "the Captains of the Isle of Dominica" is doubtless true enough in outline; but it does not help to fix the date or causes of the invasion. Skulls might remain intact for a long time in a dry cave—even though it was near the sea; and women who "kept something of their language" for four hundred years after Columbus' discovery of the Caribees, may well have done so during as long a period before that event. On the other hand, the realistic description of the leader of the invading forces, and the tradition of former "kings" (probably a pre-Carib institution) point—albeit for purely psychological reasons—to a not far distant era. It may likewise be inferred that the Caribs' acquaintance with the islands, and their hatred of Arawak, island- and mainland-tribes alike, went much farther back than this last, successful invasion.[11]

174 That they did not bring Carib women from the mainland appears, not only in their own story, but in the descriptions of the marriage system obtaining among them toward the middle of the seventeenth century. Had they done so, it is more than likely that some hereditary distinctions and privileges would have resulted; but we are expressly told that the children even of captive women were
[565] in no way discriminated against. A roving and warlike people, the Caribs had no use for hereditarily privileged classes; and while maintaining the general (Arawak?) custom of matrilocal, cross-cousin marriage, insured the strength of their own elected chiefs by making their and their sons' marriages patrilocal. Thus an Island Carib headman, or war-leader was able to take several wives without adding greatly to his own economic burden, and could count on the support of all his adult offspring and their spouses in the event of dearth, dispute, or warfare. Small wonder that men were willing to put up with some self-
174 inflicted torture to prove themselves worthy of such a position!

That the Island Carib were and remained patripotestal cannot be doubted,
562 and is evident both from the ease with which they are said to have disposed of

11 Guiana folklore suggests that Arawak and Carib were originally one people who split over sexual taboos or on account of a portion of the females crossing with foreign stock.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

a suspected wife, and from the preponderance of terms for male over those for female kin. Male domination is further indicated by the alternative forms of marriage recorded, and reflected in the variety of the men's terms for spouse; while the absence of this feature from the women's tongue suggests the former prevalence of a stricter system of matrimony.

The latter is revealed by a great deal of the kinship terminology itself, in which the men used the same or equivalent terms as the women. The analysis of these terms confirms the historical records of unilateral cross-cousin marriage (to paternal aunts' daughters), of the sororate and levirate, and of the so-called classificatory system; and attests the (at least) one-time existence of matrilineal descent and inheritance (the male line zigzagging through sister's son back to son's son). Since the significance and social implications of these terms must have been clear to Carib speakers, it seems probable that as an ideal the system was kept intact, but that marriage by elopement or capture became just as common so long as raiding expeditions could be kept up. Present-day house inheritance by the youngest child, continued prevalence of matrilocal residence, and surviving kinship terminology also tend to a like conclusion. Of the fifteen kinship terms remembered today and recorded by myself, it is noteworthy that those belonging to the men's speech (ss h, w f = s gf, w m = s gm, s, gs, gf) are concerned with sisters' marriage and posterity, and with the grandparent-grandchild relationship; while those of the women's speech (h, w, d, f, m, o br, y br) designate the conjugal and consanguineal group. The other two, n-ubu *my mate* (12) and n-ígītu *my mother's brother's son,* belong to the common vocabulary.

In this sense, and only in this sense, exogamous, non-totemic, matrilocal clans may be said to have existed among the Island Carib; but I have found no evidence that they bore any names, or even went beyond the joint family.

The variety of terms for sponsors and their "godchildren," for namesake, joking, and formal friends, as well as the description of the elétuak rites and festival, suggest the former existence of purely Carib institutional associations, which are, however, nowhere recorded for the islands. A last vestige of such might perhaps be seen in the present-day seriousness with which godsib-godparent-godchild, and sibling-of-first-communion relationships are taken.

Like other conquerors before and after them, the Island Carib seem to have begun by imposing a maximum of social change on their erstwhile Arawak wives; only to revert, albeit very gradually, to a large part of the culture of the conquered (even in language: all recent Island Carib texts showing a large proportion of Arawak words and forms). The coming of the white men, and the

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

178 Caribs' subsequent fixation in an ever-dwindling number of islands or districts thereof must have hastened this process. Traditionally inclined to seek their fortune in seafaring and piracy, their subsistence in hunting and fishing, the Island men were increasingly forced to depend for economic security on the despised horticulture of their womenfolk.[12]

DOMINICA
BRITISH WEST INDIES

764 12 *Addendum on death customs and beliefs*: The following notes, secured on the Carib-Reserve in January 1946, belong properly with my *Carib Folk-Beliefs and Customs from Dominica, B. W. I.* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 1, pp. 507-530, 1945).

The water with which the corpse was washed is kept until the interment, to be thrown after the departing coffin. Then everything in the house (with the following exceptions) is taken out into the yard to be washed or scrubbed immediately. However, the personal clothing last worn by the deceased, as well as the bed and bedding on which he died, must be left untouched, with a light burning on the bed itself, until after "la prière" or eighth day wake. Not until after the latter rite has taken place can the dead person's soul be expected to "know that he is dead" and to take its departure.

[775] In removing a troublesome moth from his glass of rum, some days after his father-in-law's death, a young Carib man remarked to me: "It certainly must be Jimmy [the deceased] who smelt the rum and wants his share."

828 Another (unconnected) belief that I only recently discovered is to the effect that madness is usually caused by "somebody setting a zombi upon you."